

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MOSCOW 9138

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR TARNOFF FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O.11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: UR, US
SUBJECT: NOTES ON MEETING WITH BREZHNEV

REF: STATE 106332

FOLLOWING ARE MY NOTES ON TALK WITH BREZHNEV:

BREZHNEV: I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE HAD SERIOUS TALKS WITH
GROMYKO - NATURAL SINCE DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS
A SERIOUS BUSINESS - THIS IS WHY ALL PEOPLES OF WORLD
CALL FOR BAN ON NUCLEAR WAR.

BUT FIRST LET ME WAY HAPPY TO GREET YOU ONCE AGAIN IN
MOSCOW. SINCE LAST VISIT, MANY IMPORTANT EVENSTS - PAST
YEAR HAS NOT GIVEN US CAUSE FOR JOY SO FAR AS SOVIET-U.S.
RELATIONS CONCERNED - THEY HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING UNEVENLY,
THEIR PRESENT STATE SUITS NEITHER OF US, DOES NOT MEET
DESIRES OF EITHER POWER.

(DEPARTING FROM TEXT)

WHEN NIXON FIRST VISITED USSR, HE CAME HERE RIGHT AFTER
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ARRIVAL - JUST TWO OF US WITH INTERPRETER - HE SAID YOU
AND WE HAVE AMASSED SO MUCH NUCLEAR ARMOR, WE CAN DESTROY
WORLD SEVEN TIMES OVER. THESE ARE HIS VERY WORDS, EVERY
COMMA. I CITE THIS NOT TO DEFEND NIXON BUT TO STRESS
THAT STEPS BY YOU TO SPEED UP ARMS RACE HAVE RESULTED IN
SITUATION WHERE WE CAN DESTROY WORLD TEN TIMES OVER.
AND THAT WE CALL PROGRESS. AT THAT TIME, IN A BRIEF
PERIOD, WE SUCCEEDED IN CONCLUDING AGREEMENT WHICH STILL
VALID (PROMPTED BY GROMYKO - SINCE BREZHEV HAD SAID
"EXPIRED IN OCT") (PULLS TOWARD HIM BIG BLUE CUP -

PRESUMABLY COFFEE - AND SAYS "I GUESS I MUST BE WISEST,
SINCE I'VE HAD MY COFFEE IN ADVANCE.)

(RESUMES TEXT)

I WAS NOT JOKING WHEN I SPOKE OF COMPLEXITY OF DISCUSSIONS
UNDER WAY. MAIN OBSTACLE IN OUR GOOD RELATIONS IS CON-
TINUING ARMS RACE. WITHOUT ENDING IT, NO ONE CAN SLEEP
TRANQUILLY - NOTHING COULD PROMOTE MORE THE ACHIEVEMENT
OF THIS OBJECTIVE THAN NEW SALT AGREEMENT - ALREADY DE-
LAYED TO "AN UNGODLY EXTENT".

I HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY GROMYKO AND OGARKOV, IT WAS
POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ONLY ONE OUTSTANDING ISSUE -
WHILE ON OTHERS, SOME HEADWAY.

FIRST, I REFER TO ARTICLE ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION (READS TEXT)
CONFIRMED BY VANCE.

SECONDLY, I UNDERSTAND U.S. SIDE IN PRINCIPLE AGREES THAT
TREATY SHOULD PROVIDE RIGHT OF EACH SIDE TO TEST ONE NEW
ICBM IF AGGREGATE NUMBER LIMITED TO 1200. WE HAVE ALWAYS
SPOKEN OF A SINGLE RV WHILE YOU HAVE IN MIND MIRV'D

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NEW ICBM - WE CAN IN NO WAY AGREE, THESE ARE QUALITATIVELY
DIFFERENT MISSILES WITH DIFFERENT IMPACT ON STRATEGIC
BALANCE.

THIRD, OUR POSITIONS ARE CLOSER RE DECREASE IN AGGREGATE
LEVELS - WE AGREE TO REDUCE FROM 2400 TO 2250 OVER 18
MONTH PERIOD, STARTING DEC. 1980. RE U.S. PROPOSED TIME
LIMITS OF 12 MONTHS, STARTING JAN. 1980, THIS IS UNREAL-
ISTIC FOR REASONS EXPLAINED BY OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

FOURTH, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON HOW
TO OVERCOME OUR DIFFERENCES IN STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES FOR
SALT III.

RE BACKFIRE, GROMYKO HAS SET FORTH OUR POSITION. THIS HAS
NOTHING TO DO WITH TREATY AND I HAVE NOTHING TO ADD.

NOW IMPORTANT THAT VIGOROUS EFFORTS BE MADE BY BOTH SIDES
TO FIND ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO QUESTIONS ON WHICH AGREE-
MENT NOT YET REACHED - HOPES U.S. SIDE, LIKE SOVIETS, WILL
DISPLAY NECESSARY REALISM TO REACH AGREEMENT.

OF GREAT IMPORTANCE WOULD BE COMBINING EFFORTS OUR TWO
COUNTRIES ON OTHER ASPECTS OF PROBLEM OF ENDING ARMS RACE.
I REGRET U.S. SIDE HAS NOT ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL ON
RENUNCIATION OF NEUTRON BOMB - IN ADVANCING OUR PROPOSAL,
WE PROCEEDED NOT FROM UNILATERAL INTEREST BUT SOLELY TO

PREVENT NEW SPIRAL IN ARMS RACE. CARTER'S STATEMENT CANNOT BE REGARDED AS ENDING THE QUESTION. TAKING PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT INTO CONSIDERATION, WE ARE NOW WEIGHING QUESTION OF SIVET PRODUCTION OF NEUTRON BOMB AND WE MAY SOON ANNOUNCE OUR DECISION.

I SHALL NOT TOUCH UPON OTHER CONCRETE ISSUES DISCUSSED BY YOU AND GROMYKO - WISH MERELY TO STRESS IMPORTANCE MUTUAL CONSIDRATION OF LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF OTHER SIDE,
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MUTUAL EQUALITY AND BENEFIT, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS - AS NECESSARY ELEMENTS IN MOVING AHEAD IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

IN CONCLUSION, WOULD LIKE TOUCH UPON ONE MORE QUESTION. REPRESENTATIVES OF U.S. SIDE AND PRESIDENT CARTER PERSONALLY HAVE STRESSED DESIRABILITY OF SUMMIT MEETING - WE ARE IN FAVOR AND THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBTS ON THIS SCORE. IN THIS CONNECTION, OUR ONLY CONCERN IS THAT RESULTS FROM SUCH MEETING SHOULD BE THOSE EXPECTED FROM TWO SUCH STATES AS U.S. AND USSR. IN SHORT, WE ARE IN FAVOR OF WELL-PREPARED MEETING. PLEASE CONVEY THIS TO THE PRESIDENT.

(DEPARTING FROM TEXT) - THOSE WHO LIKE TO TRAVEL AROUND FWORLD MAKING SPEECHES SHOULD REMEMBER THAT IF ONE BOMB FALLS, NOTHING WOULD BE LEFT - WE KEEP WRITING PAPER AFTER PAPER - EACH AUTHOR REJOICES OVER WAY HE HAS ARRANGED HIS THOUGHTS. MEETING WITH CARTER SHOULD BE ONE WHERE WE DECLARE WE ARE AGAINST WAR AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS, FOR DISARMAMENT. THAT WOULD BE SYMBOL OF OUR COURAGE, OF OUR DESIRE TO ACT, AND OF OUR ACTION.

BREZHNEV ASKS SUKHADREV TO SMOKE, EXHALING IN HIS DIRECTION. HE THEN ASKED VANCE IF CARTER SMOKED. TOLD NO, BREZHNEV IN ASIDE TO GROMYKO SAID "CARTER'S EVEN AFRAID OF SMOKE".)

VANCE: THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, AND TO EXPRESS HIS STRONG DETERMINATION TO DO EVERYTHING IN HIS POWER THAT THIS MEETING SHOULD BE AS PRODUCTIVE AS POSSIBLE.

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BREZHNEV (INTERRUPTS): THANK YOU FOR THE PRESIDENT'S BEST WISHES. I WELCOME THAT STATEMENT BUT WE'RE ALL HUMAN - FIRST THE PRESIDENT DECLARES HE FAVORS GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND PLEDGES HIMSELF IN FAVOR OF DIS-

ARMAMENT, AND THEN A COUPLE OF DAYS LATER HE MAKES A TERRIBLE
SPEECH AT SOME UNIVERSITY. THIS PUZZLES US AND
WE WONDER WHERE THE TRUTH LIES.

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NODIS CHEROKEE

VANCE: THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES OUR MEETING CAN BE AN IM-
PORTANT STEP TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY
OBJECTIVES TO WHICH HE IS COMMITTED: A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD
BASED ON THE REDUCTION AND CONTROL ARMS; A DEEPER UNDER-
STANDING WITH THE SOVIET UNION; A RESOLUTION OF REGIONAL
CONFLICTS; AND RESTRAINT ON THE PART OF THE MAJOR POWERS.
LET ME JUST ADD THAT THE PRESIDENT SHARES ALL THE VIEWS
WHICH YOU HAVE EXPRESSED A MOMENT AGO AS BEING THOSE THAT
YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE INCLUDED IN A PAPER WHICH BOTH
SIDES COULD SIGN. HE SHARES YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT A
WORLD OVERLOADED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS - MANY MORE THAN WE
COULD WISH TO HAVE.

BREZHNEV: (AGAIN INTERRUPTED): NOW THE IMPORTANT THING IS
NOT TO FOCUS ON AND ARGUE ABOUT NUMBERS. THE VITAL THING
IS THAT IF A BOMB FALLS ON A CITY NOTHING WILL REMAIN OF
THAT CITY. MEANWHILE WE ARGUE OVER THE FIGURE OF 2250 OR
YOUR VERSION.

VANCE: CARTER SHARES YOUR VIEW AS WAS MADE CLEAR IN HIS
INAUGURATION ADDRESS. WE SEEK A WORLD WITHOUT NUCLEAR
WEAPONS. AND FINALLY, HE FAVORS THE QUICKEST POSSIBLE
ACHIEVEMENT OF A SALT AGREEMENT. CONCERNING SALT II,
I AGREE WITH YOUR SUMMARY OF WHAT WE HAVE DISCUSSED HERE
BUT WOULD POINT OUT THAT A FURTHER QUESTION THAT MUST BE
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RESOLVED IS AN AGREED DEFINITION OF NEW TYPES OF MISSILES.
BUT THIS CAN BE DONE IN GENEVA BY OUR DELEGATIONS WHO
SHOULD ALSO FOCUS ON A BOMBER COUNTING RULE, DEFINITION
OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGES, ETS.

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO BEGIN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH A BROAD REVIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, AND TO EXPRESS TO YOU FRANKLY THOSE ISSUES WHICH ARE THE SOURCE OF DEEP CONCERN TO HIM AND TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AT LARGE. HE HAS ASKED ME TO STRESS THAT THE UNITED STATES SEEKS A DETENTE THAT IS INCREASINGLY COMPREHENSIVE AND GENUINELY RECIPROCAL. UNLESS WE CAN MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION, SOME OF THE CENTRAL FACTORS IN THE RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING THE SUCCESSFUL RATIFICATION OF SALT, WILL BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY THE CONSEQUENT DETERIORATION IN THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT. THEREFORE, I WISH TO STRESS THAT MUTUAL RESTRAINT LIES AT THE CORE OF A DETENTE RELATIONSHIP.

WE REGARD THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP AS CENTRAL TO WORLD PEACE AND GLOBAL STABILITY. THIS RELATIONSHIP MUST THEREFORE BE ONE OF MUTUAL RESTRAINT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS SIGNED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IN MAY, 1972. IF THESE PRINCIPLES ARE NOT OBSERVED, IT WILL LEAD TO AN UNREGULATED AND INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS COMPETITION.

BREZHNEV (INTERRUPTING): WHAT SORT OF RESTRAINT DO YOU HAVE IN MIND?

VANCE: I WILL COME TO THIS. IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD WISH TO HAVE A CLARIFICATION OF SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA, AND IN PARTICULAR, SOUTHERN AFRICA. THIS IS
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NEEDED IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A POSITIVE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR PURSUING OTHER ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES.

WE WOULD REGARD IT AS A MATTER OF IMPORTANCE THAT THE SOVIET UNION NOT BE DRAWN INTO AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE ERITREAN ISSUE BY FORCE. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOVIET MILITARY AND CUBAN COMBAT PERSONNEL IN THE HORN OF AFRICA WILL PROVOKE A REACTION FROM ETHIOPIA'S NEIGHBORS THAT CAN ONLY LEAD TO FURTHER TENSION AND POSSIBLE CONFLICT. WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THE EARLY WITHDRAWAL OF ALL EXTERNAL FORCES FROM ETHIOPIA WOULD HELP TO AVERT THE DANGEROUS TRENDS NOW BUILDING UP IN AFRICA. WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO THIS END.

WHILE WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO SOVIET COOPERATION WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONT LINE COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT INTRUSION OF EXTERNAL FORCES INTO SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL JEOPARDIZE DETENTE AS A WHOLE, AND SERIOUSLY FRAY THE RELATIONSHIP.

IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF I SHOULD SET FORTH NOW OUR OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THAT IS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH THE BRITISH TOWARD A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WHICH IN OUR VIEW WOULD RESULT IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. WE KNOW THAT FOR THIS TO BE SUCCESSFUL THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MUST PLAY AN ESSENTIAL ROLE IN THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS AND THE NAMES OF THE FRONT LEADERS SHOULD BE PUT BEFORE THE PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE. IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT IF FREE ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD NKOMO WOULD WIN. WHILE MUZAREWA HAS SUPPORT, NKOMO HAS THE STRONGEST POLITICAL BASE. IN SHORT THE PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE MUST MAKE THEIR OWN CHOICE AND THIS SHOULD BE DONE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR.

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BREZHNEV (INTERRUPTING): THAT IS CORRECT.

VANCE: CONCERNING NAMIBIA, WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT ONLY THE PEOPLE CAN DECIDE ON THEIR LEADERS. WE BELIEVE THAT A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND FREE ELECTIONS SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 385 AND UNDER U.S. SUPERVISION. LET ME CONCLUDE THIS POINT BY SAYING THERE CANNOT BE A SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF SWAPO. I HAVE HAD RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH NJOMO ABOUT HIS CONCERNS AND HOW THEY CAN BE MET. I HOPE THIS EXPLANATION OF OUR VIEWS ON AFRICA MAY HELP YOU TO UNDERSTAND OUR OBJECTIVES.

IT IS THE PERSONAL VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT THAT THE DEPTH OF OUR FEELING CONCERNING DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA DERIVES NOT ONLY FROM OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS BUT FROM OUR ENTIRE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE. ANY EFFORTS THAT RESULT IN FANNING THE FLAMES OF A MAJOR RACIAL WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CAN ONLY PROVOKE THE MOST PROFOUND AND ADVERSE REACTION ON THE PART OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE BELIEVE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS AT A WATERSHED. WE ARE WILLING, ANXIOUS AND READY TO TRY TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS, TO WIDEN THE SCOPE OF COOPERATION TO OTHER AREAS, AND TO WORK TOGETHER ON THE WIDEST POSSIBLE RANGE OF ISSUES; BUT PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION IS MADE MORE DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, BY A SELECTIVE DETENTE.

BREZHNEV (INTERRUPTING): ON THE OTHER HAND WE GIVE PROMISES, WE EXCHANGE WORDS, AND NOTHING HAPPENS. SENATORS LIKE JACKSON (BREZHNEV HAD FORGOTTEN THE SENATOR'S NAME AND HAD TO BE PROMPTED BY DOBRYNIN) OR TO CHINA, PRAISE
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THE CHINESE, AND PRATTLE ABOUT THE NEED T COOPERATE WITH THE CHINESE. THAT IS YOUR BUSINESS AND WE DON'T WANT TO INTERFERE IN YOUR AFFAIRS. BUT AS ISEE IT THINGS ARE MOVING TO THE POINT WHERE THE U.S. WILL GIVE UP TAIWAN TO THE CHINESE - THAT IS YOU WILL EVEN BE WILLING TO SELLOUT YOUR OWN ALLY. NOTHING IS ETERNAL NDER THE MOON AFTER ALL.

VANCE: WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING OF TAIWAN IS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO US. WE HAVE MADE THIS CLEAR TO THE CHINESE AND THEY ARE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THIS. THIS IS ONE OF THE THINGS THAT MADE MY VISIT TO PEKING VERY DIFFICULT.

(BREZHNEV IN AN ASIDE TO DOBRYNIN: DID I SPEAK CORRECTLY"?)

VANCE: CONCERNING SALT, I WOULD LIKE T STRESS THAT DISCUSSION CANNOT EXIST IN A VACUUM. THE PROCESS OF RATIFICATION IS INFLUENCED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONGRESS AS WELL AS PUBLIC OPINION IS CRITICAL TO RATIFICATION.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 MOSCOW 9138

NODIS CHEROKEE

BREZHNEV: LET ME RESPOND TO WHAT YOU SAID ON AFRICA (READING FROM A PAPER HANDED HIM BY ALEXANDROV). WE BELIEVE AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND SOVIET RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE NO BEARING ON U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONS - NO MORE THAN U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHILE OR IRAN, FOR EXAMPLE. ANY ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH AN ARTIFICIAL LINK CAN ONLY REFLECT DESIRE TO WORSEN RELATIONS. AND IN SUBSTANCE, WE FAIL TO UNDERSTAND WHERE ANYONE CAN DISCERN ANY CAUSE FOR ALARM, WHY ANYONE ASCRIBES TO US ANY PERNICIOUS PLANS - WHEN OUR AIM IS SIMPLY TO DEFEND AGAINST AGGRESSION. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND MORALITY, THESE WERE FULLY JUSTIFIED REACTIONS. MOREOVER, THERE NEVER WERE AND ARE NOT NOW SOVIET TROOPS IN ETHIOPIA. WE WANT NOTHING FOR OURSELVES. RE THE CUBANS, BOTH CUBA AND ETHIOPIA ARE SOVEREIGN STATES. WE CANNOT SPEAK FOR

THEM NOR DO WE WISH TO DO SO. BUT THE ACTIONS OF THE CUBANS ARE NOT UNLAWFUL AND THEY DO NOT THREATEN ANYBODY. IN THE UNITED STATES THINGS HAVE REACHED THE POINT WHERE THERE IS SPECULATION THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA WILL PENETRATE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA TO CONCOCT THERE VARIOUS INTRIGUES AGAINST WESTERN POWERS. THIS IS SHEER FANTASY. IT IS YOU AND OWEN - AND NOT GROMYKO, MUCH LESS USTINOV - WHO ARE VISITING THESE COUNTRIES. SO LET US NOT PILE UP ARTIFICIAL DIFFICULTIES ON THE PATH OF OUR RELATIONS. WE HAVE ENOUGH ALREADY.

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VANCE: JUST ONE MORE WORD WITH REGARD TO THE AFRICAN SITUATION. THE REASON FOR MY TRAVELS WAS TO BRING ABOUT PEACE AND FREE ELECTIONS. THERE IS NOT A SINGLE AMERICAN SOLDIER IN EITHER OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

BREZHNEV: THAT STILL LEAVES A LOT OF QUESTIONS UNANSWERED. THERE MAY BE NO SOLDIERS THERE BUT THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE SEES FIT TO GO THERE AND NO ONE KNOWS WHY. SINCE YOU GO THERE, IT MUST BE IN SOME WAY FOR THE PURPOSE OF INTERFEREING IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

VANCE: I WENT TO RHODESIA AT THE SUGGESTION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONT LINE STATES AND MY PURPOSE WAS SIMPLY TO TRY TO ARRANGE FREE AND PEACEFUL ELECTIONS.

BREZHNEV: THAT MAY WELL BE BUT I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU ONE PIECE OF ADVICE. YOU SHOULD CONCENTRATE YOUR MAIN EFFORTS ON MATTERS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE BETWEEN US - THAT IS A BAN ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ENDING THE ARMS RACE.

I HAVE JUST BEEN GIVEN A PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING OUR MEETING TODAY. IT CAN'T SAY ANYTHING OF SIGNIFICANCE BECAUSE YOU DIDN'T BRING ENOUGH WITH YOU. TELL CARTER I'LL MEET HIM ANYWHERE - MOSCOW, WASHINGTON OR GENEVA - FOR THE PURPOSE OF ISSUING THE JOINT STATEMENT I MENTIONED EARLIER. WE SHOULD NOT TALK ABOUT MINOR, SECOND-RATE MATTERS BUT CONCENTRATE ON THE MAJOR ISSUES.

VANCE: I AGREE WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MAJOR MATTERS AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE PRESIDENT IS ANXIOUS TO MEET WITH YOU. I AM NOT CLEAR ON WHETHER YOU BELIEVE A MEETING IS POSSIBLE EVEN WITHOUT PRIOR AGREEMENT ON SALT.

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BREZHNEV: WE SHOULD MEET IN CONNECTION WITH THE SIGNING OF A SALT AGREEMENT.

VANCE: I WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT BRIEFLY ON OTHER MATTERS

IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD. WE HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN AGREEMENT WITH ADEQUATE VERIFICATION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

BREZHNEV: THAT IS WHAT WE WANT.

VANCE: I HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE THE TEST BAN AGREEMENT BEFORE A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT.

GROMYKO: (INTERJECTING) TWO AGREEMENTS WOULD BE BETTER THAN ONE.

VANCE: CONCERNING EUROPEAN SECURITY I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE RECENT PROPOSAL BY THE WEST ON MBFR WILL BE ANSWERED POSITIVELY. WE DISCUSSED IT YESTERDAY AND UNDERSTAND THAT YOUR SIDE IS STUDYING THE PROPOSAL NOW AND WILL GIVE A RESPONSE SOON.

BREZHNEV (READS FROM PAPER HANDED HIM BY ALEXANDROV): BEFORE THE MBFR RECESS THE NATO POWERS SUBMITTED UPDATED PROPOSALS. WE ARE PRESENTLY STUDYING THEM. OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION IS THAT THERE IS SOME ATTEMPT IN THOSE PROPOSALS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS PUT FORWARD BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. BUT THESE PROPOSALS STILL REFLECT A ONE-SIDED APPROACH WITH REGARD TO THE LEVEL OF FORCES IN EUROPE. BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO RELIEVE TENSION IN EUROPE.

PLEASE CONVEY BY BEST WISHES TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND MY HOPE FOR CONTINUED STRENGTHENING OF DETENTE AND REALSTIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. SUCH IMPORVEMTN AND SUCH
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STRENGTHENING OF DETENTE ARE POSSIBLE AND FEASIBLE AND I HOPE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL SUPPORT THESE MOVES. WE HAVE DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF ISSUES FRANKLY, AND WE WOULD LIKE NOW TO PUT OUT OUR OWN STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (BREZHNEV THEN READS THE SUGGESTED TEXT).

VANCE: THIS STATEMENT SOUNDS FINE TO ME. BUT LET ME ADD A FEW WORDS DESPITE THE LATE HOUR. OUR TALKS HAVE BEEN USEFUL. WE KNOW THE IMPORTANCE YOU ATTACH TO A NEW MISSILE SYSTEM AND WE HAVE MOVED FORWARD ON THIS ISSUE IN ORDER TO SATISFY YOUR CONCERNS. WE CAME HER WITH A SERIOUS INTENTION. WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS. WE MUST FACE UP TO THE TASK OF FINISHING OUR WORK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

GROMYKO: THIS THOUGHT CAN BE ADDED TO THE STATEMENT (AN APPROPRIATE AMENDMENT WAS MADE).

VANCE: ONE MORE POINT I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION. IN PLACE

OF SUCH AN UNRESTRAINED POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMPETION,
THE UNITED STATES WOULD PREFER AND WOULD WARMLY WELCOME
CLOSER COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN DEALING WITH
THE MANY GLOBAL PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT MANKIND IN THE
THIRD WORLD. THE NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONSHIP WOULD BECOME
MORE CONSTRUCTIVE IF ALL OF US INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST
COUNTRIES WERE HELPING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OVERCOME
THE MANY DIFFICULTIES THEY FACE, SUCH AS THOSE IN
AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, THE EXPANSION OF TRADE,
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMON FUND, AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF USEFUL FORMS OF TECHNOLOGY. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT SUCH
COOPERATION WOULD NOT ONLY PROVIDE ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNI-
TIES FOR CLOSER FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
THE SOVIET UNION, BUT WUOLD DEFUSE TENSIONS IN THE WORLD
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AND BENEFIT MANKIND AS A WHOLE.

BREZHNEV: QUESTIONS SUCH AS THAT CAN BE DISCUSSED FOR
MONTHS ON END.

VANCE: I AGREE BUT I FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO STRESS THIS
AS A SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSIONS IN THE FUTURE.

(ON LEAVING, WE WERE ESCORTED BY BREZHNEV TO A SIDE-TABLE
STREWN WITH BREZHNEV MEMORABILIA - MOSTLY LINKED WITH HIS
RECEIPT OF THE VICTORY MEDAL - A VIVID ILLUSTRATION FOR
VANCE OF THE CULT OF PERSONALITY.) TOON

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